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ABSTRACT

In this study, 33 teachers in infant and junior schools in England and 31 teachers in primary and secondary schools in West Germany, representing a cross-section of schools and geographic areas in the two countries, were interviewed to determine their attitudes toward the language of children in their schools and their estimates of reasons for their attitudes. More than 90 percent of the teachers interviewed in both countries perceived the language of children coming from working class homes as being deficient in some way and also, to some extent, children from middle class homes as well. The reasons for their attitudes concerned parental neglect, the education of parents, the language of parents, the interference of social and regional dialects and in some instances a suggestion of genetic factors. The study indicated a need for further research in language attitudes of teachers and also a need for certain changes in preservice and inservice education relating to the applications of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic knowledge to the teaching of reading and language at all levels of schooling. (Author/WR)

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"Teacher Attitudes Toward Children's Language in West Germany and England"

by

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* See Appendix A for a complete list of Schools, Teachers and Consultants

CS 001 716

ABSTRACT

"Teacher Attitudes Toward Children's Language
in West Germany and England"

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Thirty-three teachers in infant and junior schools in England and thirty-one teachers in primary and secondary schools in West Germany representing a cross-section of schools and geographic areas in the two countries were interviewed to determine their attitudes towards the language of children in their schools and their estimates of reasons for their attitudes. More than 90% of the teachers interviewed in both countries perceived the language of children coming from working class homes as being deficient in some way and also to some extent children from middle class homes as well. The reasons for their attitudes concerned parental neglect, the education of parents, the language of parents, the interference of social and regional dialects and in some instances a suggestion of genetic factors. Many of the teachers cited the early work of Basil Bernstein, particularly his description of a supposed "restricted linguistic code" common to the working class as reinforcing their estimates of the cause of such linguistic deficiency. The study clearly indicates a need for further research in language attitudes of teachers and also a need for certain changes in pre-service and in-service education relating to the applications of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistic knowledge to the teaching of reading and language at all levels of schooling.

Introduction

The language attitude study presented here is part of a larger investigation began in 1972 and still underway concerned with the teaching of the mother tongue in England and West Germany. During the course of this investigation it became evident that teacher attitudes toward child language were to be an important aspect of the larger study. The significance of the growth in the sociolinguistic study of language attitudes has been noted in the publication of Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects, edited by Roger W. Shuy and Ralph W. Fasold (Georgetown University Press, Washington D. C., 1973) is testimony enough to the growing importance of this area in sociolinguistics. Since teachers attitudes toward their students constitute a major force in the development of the education of those students the emergence of the language attitudes of teachers as an important aspect of mother tongue teaching in any country can hardly be surprising.

Educational researchers in countries other than their own studying educational systems always risk (notwithstanding their fluency in the language of the country being studied) misinterpretations of culture, social class, school practices, and teacher attitudes. A number of consultants (named in Appendix A) from England, West Germany, and the United States and other countries have given us advice and counsel on problems related to the above areas. Nonetheless, misinterpretations may have been made in any area and we, as principal investigators, take full responsibility for all such misinterpretations. Research carried on in schools involving school observations of classes, interviews with busy teachers and school administrators is always difficult in any

country. Without the full cooperation of the teachers and school administrators and consultants mentioned in both countries, who gave and continue to give freely of their time and energy, this study would not exist. The fact that it does exist is a testimony to the professional spirit of those who assisted us. It also demonstrates their desire to shed light on what continues to be one of the most pressing problems facing all educational systems engaged in the process of teaching the mother tongue. How may it best be done? We also acknowledge a debt to our students and colleagues in comparative education and applied linguistics, whose constructive criticisms continue to provide encouragement.

Background

The school systems of most modern industrial nations spend large amounts of energy and resources on the teaching of the mother tongue. Both England and West Germany are examples of countries with well-established practices in teaching the mother tongue. In both England and West Germany movements for educational reform and change are underway. At the same time, in both countries, growth of knowledge and development of linguistic studies, including sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, have become to some extent incorporated into university programs and isolated attempts are being made to apply linguistic studies to the solution of particular problems in education and in educational planning in general. Such work proceeds with some difficulty because of the lack of personnel, e.g. a number of chairs of linguistics are not filled in several German universities and in British universities as well. In teacher training colleges in both countries the number of personnel with backgrounds in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics

are lacking although there are encouraging signs that the situation is being rectified. At Oxford University, for example, there are now several tutors in linguistics.

The problem in both countries seems to be of several dimensions:

1. To what extent is knowledge developed in the areas of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and applied linguistics being applied to educational problems?
2. How can trained personnel be placed in positions where they can be effective?
3. How can further research development in this area be developed?

There seems evidence that linguists feel that there is sufficient knowledge which can be applied to educational problems and to develop educational planning for the future. The situation has given rise to a "new breed" of persons in both West Germany and England as well as other countries who are attempting to build bridges between linguistics and education and to apply linguistics and linguistic insights to educational problems.

This is the concern in large measure of the investigators in this study who continue to be involved with the applications of educational research to the solution of practical problems of classroom teachers as well as the conduct of future research. In the largest sense, this study is dedicated to all who teach the mother tongue.

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June, 1974

Education, Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics

Within the past several decades a virtual explosion of knowledge has taken place in linguistics. The attention of many linguists has turned to developmental psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics in attempts to discover the ways in which human beings develop rule-governed language behavior. The processes by which children learn language are being related to the learning of reading and writing as well and linguists are becoming increasingly interested in the ways in which language is used in the community:

> "With the exception of certain dialectologists and anthropologists, in fact, linguists have never really kept in close contact with language as it is actually used. The separation of langue (language) and parole (speech) made by Ferdinand de Saussure has been well preserved by the generation which followed him although it still seems curious to some of us that langue, which Saussure thought of as the dimension of language shared by all its speakers, was considered so general that linguists could speculate about it from limited sources of speech (even their own) while parole, the individual dimension, was considered so variable that it would take large scale surveys to measure." (17)

Although the early work of Chomsky and his students turned the attention of linguists to some extent inward to the innate aspects of language and its development, there were always forces which proposed that the distinction between langue and parole was paradoxical and that many linguists did believe in maintaining a close connection with language as it is actually used. As Shuy suggests, keeping a close contact with speech as it is used in the community will shed light on language questions, specifically the acquisition and development of language. (16) As Labov has pointed out, during the past 15 years there has been a movement within linguistic theory to include the everyday speech outside of the university community. (9) Recent developments within sociolinguistics undoubtedly stem from the fact that most linguists now tend to

share the view that analyses of speech drawn from actual speech settings are necessary if a complete description of what Del Hymes has called "communicative competence" is to be obtained. Such efforts have led linguists to become more interested in the basic social problems of our society including education. As many psycholinguists have noted, since language is sensitive to observation, laboratory methods tend to change the nature of language when it is studied in the laboratory. (8)

Sociolinguists have developed a variety of techniques for working with speech, designed to enhance the study of speech in natural settings. As Labov has pointed out:

> "The basic techniques for working with speech must be designed to solve the contradiction between the need to observe closely and the need to minimize the effect of that observation. Many empirical studies converge to show that speakers must be expected to show a range of speech styles sensitive to the roles of speaker and addressee, to the topic, channel and situation (as demonstrated in an experimental setting by Ervin-Trip 1964, and in a semi-natural setting by Gumperz 1964). Of all these styles, the most casual (the "vernacular") appears to be the most systematic and the most useful for explaining historical change, bilingual interference, and school performance. But the vernacular is used only when the minimum degree of attention is paid to speech, and whenever the speaker is being observed by an outsider--as in a face-to-face interview--he will pay some attention to speech forms, shifting irregularly towards the formal end of the style spectrum. Sociolinguistic techniques are designed to solve this apparent contradiction by converging on the data from a number of standpoints: interviews, casual and anonymous observation, group sessions, and long-term participant-observation, along with various techniques for distracting the speaker's attention from his speech. The study of language in its social context also includes the study of formal institutions and formal speech styles, but its principle techniques are devoted to approximating a description of the vernacular of everyday life." (10)

Although some of the methods described above were used in this study, they remain largely unexploited in educational settings. In the same essay Labov goes on to point out that notwithstanding the fact that there have been efforts to apply linguistics to education over the past several decades:

> ". . .Yet linguists have had less success in applying their ideas to the teaching of English in American schools, and even less in the teaching of reading. In 1970, we must confess that current linguistic theory is not being applied in any sizable way to educational problems or other social questions." (11)

Since those remarks were written, efforts toward new and more intensive applications of linguistics to the problems of education have become more frequent. Discussions of the role of applied linguistics have become commonplace at meetings of linguists and educators throughout the world and numerous major research projects in applied linguistics are underway. It is not the province of this paper to discuss such developments in detail. Nevertheless, it should be clear that the theme of this paper--a comparative study of the language attitudes of teachers in two countries toward the language of the children they teach--should be placed within the context of the linguistic-educational scene described above. As has been noted elsewhere the possibilities for combining research in comparative education and sociolinguistics are fruitful. (13)

Sociolinguistics and Language Attitudes

The study of language attitudes has become important in recent sociolinguistic research. The methodologies that Labov describes above are as revealing of language attitudes as they are of the social stratification of speech within a speech community. In Labov's well-known study of the social stratification of English in New York City, varieties of language attitudes of New Yorkers and "outsiders" were revealed toward New York City speech. These attitudes were pervasive throughout the social structure. Labov reasoned that certain phonological variables should be cues to a person's social status, that is, when one hears

these cues, attitudes emerge in the listener concerning the type of person who is speaking. In testing this hypothesis, Labov presented various samples of speech, each of which contained one of the variables found for certain social class, to listeners who were then asked to make an estimate of the probable occupation of the various speakers. The occupations ranged on the social scale from "television personality," which was presumed to have the highest social status speech, to "factory worker," which was presumed to have the lowest social status speech. Labov also found that in general, these judgments made were good predictors of the speaker's social class. (12) Social stratification then, exists not only with respect to the various elements of language, it exists also in the attitudes people have concerning these elements. There is further evidence that such attitudes about dialects on the part of a given individual may not only reflect his attitudes about the social class of a person speaking a particular dialect, but that his reactions may also include a whole set of other attitudes related to the qualities of the dialect itself and/or more broadly also concerned with those persons who speak that dialect. Apparently language attitudes group themselves across and among various ethnic groups and social strata as well as sex, age and other factors. As Shuy and Williams have pointed out:

> "In the broadest sense, such attitudes, if they be defined, may begin to reveal the affective dimensions of dialect stereotyping." (18)

If language attitudes can be detected within one or another speech communities and they are of sufficient dimensionality and persistent enough that they constitute consistent stereotypic behavior toward the dialect of a certain person or a speech community, their significance for education is obvious. With regard to the teaching of language and

reading, one of the most significant questions would seem to be, to what extent does the presence of such persistent stereotypic attitudes affect the judgment of teachers concerning the language of the children they teach? Further, what causes such attitudes to exist? As Smith suggests:

> "It is also assumed that there exists a direct concomitant, if not causal, relationship between attitudes and behavior in that how one evaluates the speech of another person will have an effect upon how he acts toward that person." (19)

Again, extending the question to the teaching of language and reading, one can only hypothesize to what extent language attitudes affect teachers' evaluations of children's learning potentials, their definitions of children's language deficiencies and their own interests and capabilities in working with children from various groups. The present study attempts to delineate language attitudes of teachers in selected schools in West Germany and England as they were expressed freely in interview situations describing the language of the children in their schools and attempting to explain the reasons for the deficiencies they all too frequently found in the children's language.

The Organization of Schooling in West Germany and England

Primary education in England and West Germany may have had different origins, but today the two systems resemble one another in many ways. (A diagram of the structure of the primary systems of each country can be found in Appendix D /West Germany/ and Appendix E /England/.) While British primary schools started through private initiative, German elementary schools began at the behest of state governments as public institutions. Both were intended to make the masses literate, to pass Christian principles on to their children, and to ensure each new

generations' docility before God and secular authority. In Germany, thanks to Luther's influence, the Volksschule was established as early as the 16th century. British primary education began to be accepted as a state responsibility only in 1870.

One hundred years later the lower segment of the Volksschule, the Grundschule, grades 1-4, was attended by every West German child virtually regardless of socio-economic class. His school is usually within walking distance of his home. His teachers are graduates of a three-year teacher's college, an institution now largely attended by women. His classes are co-educational and contain between 30 and 35 pupils. The classroom is self-contained although the school may have an art teacher, a music teacher, a physical education teacher, a needle-work teacher, and a craft teacher.

In Britain, primary age boys and girls also together attend a neighborhood school. Their teachers are the products of a three-year teacher training college, a less prestigious institution than a British university. As five-year olds, English children enter the infant school; at seven they move to the junior school where they remain until they are eleven years of age. West German children are in the Grundschule from age 6 to 10. If any British pupil expects in time to attend an independent school, he tends to leave the state system only after completion of the primary school. Only some upper class children transfer at age 8 to a private preparatory school. Fewer than 4% of British primary pupils are in independent schools. (20)

In many ways British and West German children experience a different elementary education. The fact that West German pupils often have the same teacher and the same classmates for four years of the Grundschule may compensate for their schools being larger than many

British primary schools. One-half of the latter in 1970 contained 100 pupils or less. (7) The utilization of "family grouping" in England means that a class of 30-35 may contain a range of children of various ages. At the end of an academic year only a portion of the pupils transfer to the next higher level while an approximately equal number of younger children move up to take their places. Through family grouping a teacher is able to observe a pupil's growth and to enhance it during the pupil's two or three year stay in that teacher's classroom. The fact that teachers in the schools of both countries generally have the opportunity to observe children's language over a period of several years was considered a significant criterion for the selection of these educational systems.

There seems to be considerable agreement among observers that many British primary schools are more pupil centered than is the West German Grundschule. In the latter, the teacher directs explanations and questions to his or her pupils and solicits responses from them. With rare exception, everyone engages in the same learning activity at the same time. In many British primary schools pupil learning has developed in a quite different way. Although the investigators in this study found mostly teacher directed activities in West German primary and secondary schools, the converse was true in England where most teachers tended to encourage individual and group learning activities, pupil's self-directed active learning, a selection of topics for study drawn from the pupils' environment and experience and the integration of subjects. Team-teaching and combining two or three classrooms are used to expand the flexibility of learning arrangements in many British primary and secondary schools.

Whether he accepts the philosophy of the open classroom or not, the British teacher has considerable latitude in the curriculum he

develops with or for his pupils. Neither the national government nor the local education authority draws up any specifications. In contrast, the West German teacher, although he has considerable freedom within his own classroom, is asked to follow the curriculum guidelines issued by his state's Ministry of Education and Culture. By no means a restrictive document, it nevertheless indicates what subjects and topics he should deal with in his classroom and what the goals of instruction for particular subjects ought to be.

A check on the breadth of curriculum selected by British teachers is provided by the headmaster or headmistress of the primary school. This person in most schools has continuous contact with teachers, pupils, and parents. For example, "the head" usually talks with each parent who first brings his five-year old to enter an infant class. The "head" moves around the school freely and makes it a point to have pupils read to him sometime during the week. He or she tried to facilitate learning activities in the school. Headmistresses and headmasters see their teachers in the staff room during the morning coffee break, immediately after the noonday dinner, as well as at tea in the afternoon. In more than ten years of observing West German elementary schools, these investigators have found that with some notable exceptions, few West German Grundschule principals grow that familiar with their clientele.

The Schools, Teachers, and Social Settings

No statistically representative sample was formally developed for this paper. Nevertheless, the schools where data was collected in both countries include a significant cross-section of British and West German schools and communities. There were 21 schools in England and 10 schools in West Germany which constituted the sample of schools.

Twenty-seven teachers in infant schools and six teachers in junior schools were interviewed in England and eleven teachers in primary schools and twenty teachers in secondary schools were interviewed in West Germany. In the case of both primary and secondary schools, the schools were chosen in each country on the recommendation of Officials in the ministries of culture and education in West Germany as well as other consultants who were familiar with West German education. In England, advisers from local school authorities, H.M.I.'s or university personnel in teacher education programs who were familiar with the schools and were serving as consultants for the study all recommended schools in England. Since interviews were held with consultants who were in teacher education, linguistics, and applied linguistics in both West Germany and England, the names of schools and school personnel were continually coming up. In England, recommended schools ranged throughout the greater London area, the Midlands, East Anglia, Devon, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Yorkshire and Lancashire--so many, in fact, that even with the considerable period of time to visit schools, not all recommended could be visited in either country.

In West Germany the study was conducted at Hamburg, Frankfurt/M, Mainz, and West Berlin, four cities that together represent quite a cross-section of urban areas in West Germany. Specific schools visited met the criterion (also used in England) of having individual teachers interested in language and reading instruction and who were usually involved in some sort of innovative programs in their schools in language education and reading. The schools served varied social communities. For example, in West Berlin the Grundschule in the older Charlottenburg section served the working and lower middle class area, and in Spandau the school served a new satellite community containing many young

families with a sense of upper mobility. Both schools in Hamburg had children of workers and other lower middle class people in attendance. In Frankfurt/M. again the sample included an older neighborhood, working class in its inclination, but a school with a long outstanding history and a highly politicized student body. The other school, a Gesamtschule or comprehensive school, located in a new satellite community, has to sell itself to largely middle class parents who are somewhat reluctant to allow their children to participate in an educational innovation which might interfere with their educational achievement. In Mainz, the schools visited drew from nearby rural areas, from public housing developments, and from more middle class areas. Throughout both countries, teachers represented a variety of ages, of geographical origins, and of length of service in the profession. Since headmasters and headmistresses were included in the sample, both sexes were well represented.

Procedures

In each case, the school was visited for a period of at least one day by members of the research team. Usually school administrators were interviewed as well as the teachers who had indicated that they were interested in participating in the project. Ordinarily the teachers were also asked whether or not they would object to having their classes observed and the classes of all teachers interviewed were observed. An interview schedule was developed, field tested and eventually used in conducting the interviews. The interviews were recorded and later analyzed for significant trends. (Appendices B and C contain the English and German questionnaires.) Since this paper is part of a larger forthcoming study concerning the teaching of the mother tongue

in England and West Germany, only parts of the total study which concerns questions eliciting language attitudes are being reported on at this time.

A Note on Social Class

In both England and West Germany both schools and language are inextricably bound up with the social structure as in other countries. The many references of teachers to social class occurring in the data support this observation. The subject of social class, language and education is now a major subject of study in both countries. In England the working class still differentiates itself through income rather than type of employment. Rather tightly knit family relationships extending to three generations, especially for the women, through membership in Trade Unions and the Labor Party, and by attendance at the secondary modern school or perhaps today, the local comprehensive school are class makers. Only rarely do the children of working class families attempt admission to the grammar school, for a minimum of compulsory education is thought sufficient. The middle class, on the other hand, urges the children to do well in school, to enter a grammar school, and to pass "O" level examinations and then even "A" level examinations which are the only route to university admission as is the completion of the Abitur in West Germany.

In England as elsewhere housing is often a mark of social class. Parts of many major cities in both countries are well-known as working class areas. In England, even in newer neighborhoods, that label may be attached when one is talking about so-called council estates. These areas are public housing developments for low-income families. In contrast to such housing in the United States, they are not restricted to

families at the poverty level but rather serve also the lower middle class. As such they become a popularly agreed upon standard for identifying residents of council estates with the working class other than the middle class.

In West Germany the affluence brought up by the post-war economic miracle has reduced social class to a considerable extent. Class differences had already been reduced by the drastic changes produced by World War II, e.g., population dislocation and the destruction of many of Germany's working class neighborhoods by bombing in the inner cities near railroad yards and factories. To this day nearly three million foreign workers constitute West Germany's lowest social class, a Lumpenproletariat, with almost a caste status. West Germans consider themselves a cut above the foreign workers no matter what their earnings or education. Because of the transitory ties of foreign workers to Germany, the adjustment of their children to school continues to be a problem for West German educators.

As in England, West German social classes are distinguished to some extent by the jobs they hold. The working class is marked by their limited earnings, by their membership in trade unions, their support of the Social Democratic Party, and their education, terminated usually with the completion of the Hauptschule. Children of working class parents make up only 10% of 16 year olds in the Gymnasium, the academic secondary school, and only 6.4% of the 18 year olds are in that school. (14) At universities, 95% of the students are of middle class origins. Civil servants, in particular, who constitute only 6% of the total working force produce more than one-third of the university population. (15)

Rural-urban differences are declining in other ways, as many West German villages also have become bedroom communities for the larger

towns and cities in which they are located. In England, in contrast, many rural areas with their village settlements have remained relatively unchanged; it is clear, however, that as motorways extend soutward into new areas like Devon many striking social changes are occurring in England as well. Notwithstanding this however, as Bernstein and others have pointed out, forms of class, codes, and control remain important in England. (2)

What Teachers Say About Childrens Language: West Germany and England

As in Labov's study mentioned above, an attempt was made in this study to determine the language attitudes of teachers in selected schools in West Germany and England. As in Labov's investigation, a goal was to ascertain whether or not the informant approves or disapproves of the speech, how he or she compares it with other social and/or regional dialects, how he or she feels about correctness and the need to change the language. Also, in the case of Labov's informants, an attempt was made to assess emotional attitudes as well as cognitive statements.

Most of these attitudes may be seen as reflecting the teachers' concerns about the speech problems the children brought to school and their estimated causes of these problems. In many cases, the teachers also indicated, as did Labov's informants, ways in which they felt the children should attempt to change their language or ways in which they felt the school could work to develop their language and reading abilities. In the majority of cases in both countries the teachers described the language of the children coming into the primary school as being deficient in some way. Many comments were also made about both regional and social dialect, about paralinguistic behavior and about the complexity

of language and about language skills which students do or do not possess when they first enter school. As to the reasons for causes of language behavior, teachers mentioned such elements as lack of communication with the parents, the education of parents, the language of parents, the social class of parents, the neglect of children, a general fear of being corrected because of reasons of dialect, the general impotency of the school with respect to the ability to develop language and reading abilities in many pupils, the influence of parents and of peer groups and of general intelligence factors. Such comments as follows are representative of the major trends in teacher comments:

1.1. Vocabulary

German teacher 1: "Two-thirds of my class have a below average vocabulary."

German teacher 2: "Many children in the secondary schools have a lack of vocabulary which relates to their knowledge of specific school subjects."

German teacher 3: "Some children try to say everything simply. They do not use adjectives to modify a noun. In many cases they are fearful of using all their speaking vocabulary in school for fear of being laughed at."

British teacher 1: "One of the things that I notice about the children when they first come to school is how little they understand of what I am saying to them."

British teacher 5: "A few of the children are very fluent when they come to school; others come to school speaking only syllables . . ."

British teacher 6: "There is a wide divergence between literate children and those who are word bound, e.g., bound to single word responses. These children reveal themselves immediately as soon as they come to school."

British teacher 7: "This school first opened to children from several formal infant schools and it opened without a third or fourth year. One of the things I noticed immediately was that many of the children simply didn't talk and they particularly didn't talk to the teacher."

British teacher 8: "Many of the children who come in are practically inarticulate and literally cannot express themselves in

> words at all. They have a rather tense absorption with movement that many children feel when they want to communicate their feelings and they will use gestures and facial expressions which undoubtedly are a part of their repertoire of language before they ever learn to speak. They translate their feelings into some sort of sounds which later become words."

1.2. Language Structure

Many of the teachers in both countries spoke about what they interpreted to be deficiencies in language structure.

> German teacher 1: "Even in the upper grades students do not use connected sentences . . . they mostly use only a few words."
>
> German teacher 5: "The dependent clause for many students only appears in their speech after they have been in the third grade and after they begin to read."
>
> German teacher 8: "Part of their poorly developed language problem when they come to school can be described by saying that children use dialect as well as short sentence segments."
>
> German teacher 9: "At first children say only a few words about things in school, but after they have been here more than a year, some will begin to use subordinate clauses."
>
> British teacher 5: "A few of the children are very fluent when they come to school; others come to school speaking only syllables . . ." "Many of the middle class children bring the school language with them to school and many who don't have it when they come have to develop it."
>
> British teacher 6: "The children come to school speaking sentences without using adverbs or adjectives . . ."
>
> British teacher 7: "One of the ways I can definitely tell the differences in middle class or working class children is that the working class children will drop their h's."

1.3. Paralinguistic behavior

Since teachers deal with many children, and deal with them in a variety of contexts in school, many of the actual observations extended not only to actual speech but to speech produced in connection with certain kinds of paralinguistic behavior and also descriptions of that behavior alone when it appeared to be significant. Once again in many instances teachers reported behavior which they largely assessed to be

deficient behavior relative to the expectations of performance in a school situation.

> German teacher 7: "The children of lower socio-economic classes have a whole code which is effective in their own situation." (Although this is not exclusively a comment which may on the surface appear to relate to paralinguistic behavior, in the sense of Bernstein's use of the word "code" it may well be considered that code in this instance may have related to paralinguistic behavior. Bernstein was referred to by West German and English teachers directly on several occasions.)
>
> German teacher 10: "Children from the middle class are much more at ease within the school."
>
> British teacher 1: "Middle class children are sometimes much more aggressive in school at first . . ."
>
> British teacher 2: "You can identify working class children by the fact that they will look the other way when you speak to them. They will not answer. They will simply nod instead of using words . . . When the parents come in for the initial interview they will look at the parents when I speak to them and then the parent will answer for the child. This is a very common pattern and happens over and over again in this school but always with working class children and parents."
>
> British teacher 3: "Many of the children who come to this school are almost non-verbal."
>
> British teacher 6: "I can tell as soon as I interview a mother and entering 5 year old child that in many cases the child is very sensitive to speaking in front of other people. In many cases the parent is aggressive and will attempt to answer for the child or the child will simply look away and be silent . . . These facts are directly related to the social structure of our community. . ."
>
> British teacher 7: "You can tell a lot about the child by his clothing and the care of his physical appearance including his hair and his general state of health."

Why Teachers Think Children Speak as They Do

More than ninety per cent of teachers in this study answered a free-response question requesting them to describe children's language in terms which made it apparent that in their perception the language of children in their school was deficient in one way or another. The

teachers went on to express attitudes as to why they felt such deficiencies existed. In both countries the attitudes expressed concerned the influences of home, family, and of the social and regional dialects of the larger speech community as apparent causes of linguistic deficiencies and problems. In other statements (not reported in this paper) they described in detail what measures they themselves are taking in order to compensate for what they perceive to be deficiencies in language and reading.

2.1. Family influences

Most of the teachers mentioned home and family influences as being extremely significant in developing the kinds of language which children bring to school. In many cases, they coupled their descriptions of family with a description of that family's place in the social structure, and in almost all the cases discussed, the influence of family was considered to be negative with respect to working class parents or homes and positive with respect to upper class homes.

> German teacher 3: "The power to differentiate and discriminate through languages is curbed because of abbreviated communications with parents at home before the child comes to school."
>
> German teacher 10: "Children come to school with fairly large vocabularies. I am under the impression that they get these vocabularies from television. On the other hand they have not had much practice in using the vocabulary that they know."
>
> German teacher 11: "In many cases, the children have not had as much practice in speaking with the adults as they used to have before the age of television."
>
> British teacher 1: "It seems to me that Bernstein's explanation of the role of the mother and the family is very valid. In this school, for example, we have about 60% children from the working class and about 40% children from the middle class and it is clear that the middle class children have come to school with a love of books, that they have already talked a lot about books at home and that their mothers have explained things to them and they have been involved in conversations with their mothers in particular . . . I think that the ones who come to school with a restricted code have more trouble with reading initially than those who do not."

British teacher 2: "The childrens' language in this school varies considerably. Social background is an important aspect. Most of the children in this school come from what I would call upper working class families, that is, people who are in the working class and are trying to get into the middle class. Not many of these are actually professional people, however, we do have a good class of child here and they come in general from good homes where the parents take a real interest in them. Most of the parents own their own homes and the children have a reasonably good command of language when they come into this school in terms of their ability to speak, that is. We do have some who are deprived, who come from what I would call a bad social home background, where the mother is working and the father is working and, in some cases, the families are on welfare and also there may be a daughter in the home who has had illegitimate children."

British teacher 2: "What I have noticed about their language is that there are leaders in a class and also some who are talkers and non-talkers. There is a full range. I make it as a personal thing. Some children clam up but they can draw or point to things for communication. Some children are better at reading than writing. Good talkers have friends who are non-talkers. It doesn't seem to affect their social relationships with each other. Children adopt friends; children who can talk it up have friends among children who can't. They seem to understand them. Some children are extroverts and some are not. In this school they all come from pretty much a similar type of home background, that is, a middle class background."

British teacher 3: "It is necessary for the pupils to have a considerable incentive for learning and the differences in degree of incentive stems directly from their home background. Parents who encourage their children to have other interest than TV, for example, provide them with more incentive for school. Some parents scarcely ever talk to their children and only watch TV. Some parents provide books for their children to read before they go to school and some provide none at all. I think it breaks down pretty clearly in this village as far as the family structure and social structure is concerned, since you can identify children as to whether they are in the middle class or the working class by the kind of encouragement that they get at home. An example would be that a child who talks about travel have been taken places by his parents on trips and is more likely to be from the middle class. Also, middle class children tend to get more affection from their father than working class children. Working class children will not have traveled as much."

British teacher 4: "The children from advantaged homes where books are more accepted are more sure of themselves and also very much more ready for school. They are ready to read. They read more freely and they engage more freely in discussions. I equate I.Q. with advantage in our community since the children from the less advantaged homes are less sure of themselves and are less free in joining discussions and take longer to get the right word or the right answer. I can tell whether each child

in this community comes from the old village which has the more advantaged homes in the community because the child has better English usage. The child who comes from the council estate houses in the other part of the community will have noticably poorer English usage. The old village contains the middle class people and the working class people live in the council estate houses."

British teacher 5: "In many cases, I have observed that mothers tend to answer for their children the first time that they bring them to school. In such a case a mother would say, (referring to me) 'The lady says you can't have that.' This could start things off badly on an initial interview with many children who might form negative attitudes immediately about the school. In many cases, these are what I call the lower middle class parents who have just broken into the middle class and are earning enough money to have bought their own house. Some of their children are very fluent and others come to school speaking only syllables so there is a great variation among the children. In many cases, the parents are very articulate and have developed some kind of discipline, which is the way they got into the middle class. For example, there is everything (sic) in the community from lorry drivers to sales representatives who all are striving to get into the middle class. Some of the children who come to this school are very definitely from the working class and still live in council estate houses. Many of the children regardless of which kind of home they come from here will come to school with expensive clothes which are not washed and in many cases the children won't be washed either. They also don't get a chance to talk much at home because the TV set is on most of the time. The parents are making enough money to indulge the children in material things but really neglect them in many ways."

British teacher 6 (Headmistress): "Many of the parents talk to their children in sentences without using adverbs or adjectives so the children themselves have a reduced vocabulary and sentence structure. This is directly related to the social structure of our community. Most of the working class parents were themselves in the "D" stream (the lower stream) and left school at 14 being very unhappy with their experiences in school. Therefore, not only do the parents not have sympathy toward the school but their language patterns have carried over to the language of their children. Middle class parents more often share their experiences with their children. Mothers who look after the children take them to places and understand the value of communication. I think most members of my staff would answer this question exactly the same way in that we believe the home influence is absolutely pervasive when it comes to language development before school and during the early years of school. It is going to be very necessary if we are going to change anything in our schools that we educate the parents and we particularly need to build up the relationships with the parents of those children who are in the working class and the lower middle class and who are now somewhat materially better-off. We should try to develop some understandings about what the school is trying to do. Many of these are old families who simply moved out from the center of Abingdon to these council estate

houses which this school now serves. Then there are children from the new estates where the father and mother are together and represent a middle class family. We would like to have our family groups in the school reflect the whole social structure and not have streaming so we can have the groups of children from the different communities who are in the school work together."

2.2. Social and Regional Dialects

As can be seen from the comments above relating to family and community influences it is practically impossible, and would probably serve no useful purpose, to attempt to separate teachers' comments concerning the inter-relationships of family, community, and social structure and the influence of all of these on the child's language. The representative comments above are typical of both the comments made by the majority of the German teachers and British teachers when discussing the influences of family and community as representative of social structure. There were, however, some notable differences with respect to the two countries regarding social and regional dialects, e.g., in England regional dialect is always detectable and operates in some instances as social dialects and the influence of social dialect is very strong. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the regional dialects are immediately detectable, but often less operative as social dialects. The following comments of teachers are representative:

German teacher 3: "Regional dialects including Plattdeutsch which do not differentiate between mir and mich are noticeable among the children who come to this school."

German teacher 4: "Because of dialect many children fear to speak out when they first come to school."

German teacher 5: "In many cases, the classes which are made up of more of the rural population tend to have children with smaller vocabularies and are not as fluent as classes made up of children from Mainz (the central city). The rural children are more in need of thorough language instruction and even children from Bingen are less skilled in language and, for example, at Ludwigshafen they still allow the Palatinate dialect in their classes."

German teacher 10: "The fifth grade children of rural areas come here speaking a regional dialect. They are bright and especially eager to adapt themselves and become like city children and most of them eventually do so."

British teacher 1: "There is currently a difference of accent between the working class children and the middle class children. The teacher draws two circles which interesect and overlap. The overlapping part of each of these circles would be the part where a group of working class children who are almost in the middle class can communicate about on the level with middle class children when they come into school, otherwise if they are in this other part of this working class circle they have considerable difficulty in understanding middle class children and in particular understanding the teacher."

British teacher 3: "We have some working class children in this school who use working class language. Some parents object to use of this language in the school since they have moved into the middle class . . .There are some children who come in from rural areas and working class homes and their home language is very different from the school language. I can tell both their regional dialects and also whether they come from rural areas or whether they are middle class children who live around here on a middle class estate. Some children will be using the social dialect of a particular village and what they said about their play would fit with their class or community background. I am able to assess this pretty well by now with respect to the children who come to this school. . . In this village, accent is a problem since children adopt the local dialect while at school but the middle class children can switch to a different language at home or at school more easily than the working class children can. . . We have a young lad here from Yorkshire who is easily identifiable as speaking a different dialect than the local dialect around here (Devon)."

British teacher 5: "Their language will always give them away insofar as class is concerned. For example, a middle class child will say, 'After school I went to the shop,' and a working class child will say, 'After school I went up the shop.' Also the children who live on the council estates have a definite common language which is immediately evident when they come to school. For example, they all have the same synonym for lavatory. This will not be the case with the children who are not from the council estates."

British teacher 6: "As an example of working class language, I remember the boy who came in one day and said, 'How do you spell gunner?' I asked him how he would use it in a sentence and he said, 'I am gunner go to Scotland.'"

British teacher 7: "If they are not speaking the standary Yorkshire dialect they will say /bus/ instead of /buus/ and it will mean that they have probably moved in from somewhere else."

The Bernstein "Syndrome" and Teacher Language Attitudes

In the short space allotted here it is impossible to discuss the many influences that the work of Basil Bernstein has had upon this particular research study. Time and time again in the course of the study, teachers in both West Germany and England would support their descriptions of the linguistic deficiencies of the children they were describing by saying, "As Bernstein has pointed out, these children use a 'restricted code'." Berstein first used the term "restricted code" in his essay "Linguistic codes, hesitation phenomena and intelligence." (3) He had earlier characterized the "restricted code" as "public language" and had referred to it as having ". . . short, grammatically simple, often unfinished sentences, a poor syntactical construction with the verbal forms stressing the active mood . . . and repetitive use of conjunctions." "Public language," in part described above, was supposedly used by the "unskilled and semi-skilled strata," but approximations to a public language may well be spoken ". . .in such widely separated groups as criminal sub-cultures, rural groups, armed forces and adolescent groups in particular situations." (1) The tragedy of this elaboration of so-called restricted codes and elaborated codes with their carefully worked out connections to English social structure is the ultimate effect that they seem to have had on the language attitudes of many teachers. That this was the case in England is unquestionably true from the data in this study, and that it is also the case in West Germany was found to be true. This appears to be due in part to the work of Ulrich Oevermann (Institute for Social Research, University of Frankfurt/M and Max-Planck-Institut for Educational Research, West Berlin) whose work Sprache Und Soziale Herkunft (Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1972), which although intended to be critical in some respects

of Bernstein's description of codes, nevertheless tended to apparently implant the idea of the existence of "restricted codes" and "elaborated codes" in the minds of many West German teachers, linguists and socio-linguists. It seems clear that the simple fact of describing the codes actually misled a number of people who may or may not have been all too willing to be misled. Benjamin Bloom, for example, in his book Compensatory Education took the definition of "restricted" and "elaborated" codes to mean linguistic deficiency. (6) This misinterpretation became the American definition of educational deprivation. Many American programs of compensatory education were developed on this basis. Both Oevermann (interviewed at the Max-Planck Institute in December, 1972) and Bernstein in an unpublished paper, "A Brief Account of the Theory of Codes," (University of London, Institute of Education, August, 1972) have denied that it was their intention to create a language attitude in the minds of many teachers which tended to reinforce the idea that those children who can come from working class families speak a restricted code and are therefore linguistically deficient. Bernstein, in responding to a specific criticism of Labov on this point, notes:

> "It is a travesty to relate the concepts of elaborated or restricted codes to superficial stylistics of middle class and working class forms of conversational behavior, as implied by Labov (1970)." (4)

Bernstein further notes:

> ". . .I have never been concerned with what Labov and others call the superficial stylistics of middle class speech. Indeed, if I had been concerned with the relative presence or absence of such niceties of conversation, why did not Lawton or myself in the early research count such deviations from standard speech? It would not have been difficult! I certainly would not wish to defend the indices created in those two lists, but I would resolutely oppose the view that the distinction between the two forms of communication rested upon, or necessarily pointed to the difference between 'standard' or 'non-standard' speech. Indeed, even the relationship between codes and social class was seen as contingent (1962)." (5)

As Bernstein points out in the same paper his research took a different trend between 1961 and 1966. He has apparently gone to a considerable effort to rebutt the criticisms of Labov and others pointing out confusions between British and American interpretations of each others' social class structure and the relationships of linguistic codes to the various social structures. Despite the many times that Bernstein has made such comments in print and elsewhere as, "Clearly one code is not better than another, each possesses its own esthetic possibilities," the fact remains that among many of the teachers interviewed in this study in both West Germany and England, the term "restricted code" meant a linguistic deficiency determined by one's place in the social class structure and for them it represented more or less of a self-fulfilling prophecy, e.g., a child who comes to school from a working class family ostensibly carries with him a "restricted code" which means that he is linguistically deficient and his chances for success in school are extremely limited. Since such misinterpretations have come to pass in England and West Germany and in the United States, it is no doubt that they have come to pass in other countries--and given the 1972 reflections on the matter by both Bernstein and Oevermann cited above, a considerable amount of in-service education work will be necessary in order to clarify the language attitudes of teachers.

Clearly Bernstein and Oevermann cannot alone bear the burden of a lack of linguistic education on the part of a generation of teachers. The type of linguistic education the teachers should have had might have given them enough of a perspective not to accept an obviously oversimplified view of the complex matter of language, code and class.

Summary and Conclusions

This study is an attempt to combine the methods of sociolinguistic research with those of comparative education to study the language attitudes of teachers in two countries with the larger purposes of gaining insights into the teaching and learning of the mother tongue. A key conclusion of this study is that teachers have language attitudes and that these attitudes about the language of the children they teach are firmly held. Analyses of interviews with teachers in both West Germany and England reveal that the language attitudes of more than 90% of a selected group of 64 teachers in West Germany and England reveal clusters of teacher attitudes toward the speech of working class and middle class children. These attitudes generally link language deficiency with the language of working class children and reflect approval of the language of middle class children. Another conclusion of the study establishes that such language attitudes may result in a self-fulfilling prophecy in the minds of many teachers which affects their judgments of children from all classes. These children from the working class, the teacher proposes, come to school with a language which is already deficient and therefore constitute a burden to many teachers who already feel themselves overburdened with large numbers of students in their classes. These basic language deficiencies, they feel, may even be associated with genetic factors, although this was only implied in some small part of the data, but most teachers feel it certainly is the product of strong environmental influences and that the school and any particular teacher can do very little about those aspects of environment which cause language deficiency.

To what extent the presence of stereotypic language attitudes on the part of teachers in any country toward the language of their children

affects their teaching of those children positively or negatively is a question for further research. It is also clear from this study that the early work of Basil Bernstein has apparently been misinterpreted by teachers in both England and West Germany as reinforcing a relationship between social class and language deficiency which Bernstein now maintains he never intended to suggest. That such similar clusters of language attitudes exist in the United States and result in the stereotyping of the speech of ethnic minorities in particular has been clearly demonstrated by the work of Frederick Williams. (21) It would seem that if teachers form attitudes about children's language these attitudes are both persistent and pervasive. They apparently affect teachers' estimates of the child's intelligence and general learning potential. The conclusions of this study would seem to point also to a need for futher research as to the effects of the language attitudes of teachers on instruction generally in a number of countries and also to detect the full range and dimensionality of the language attitudes of teachers. The conclusions also certainly suggest that more attention be given to specific techniques for the measurement and diagnosis of the language abilities of children when they enter school so that the full potential of their abilities to learn and develop language and reading can be made known to their teachers.

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APPENDICES

Teachers, Schools and Consultants Participating in the Study - Schools and the Mother Tongue

October - June, 1972-73
England and the Federal Republic of Germany

Principal Investigators:
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Comparative Studies Section, Department of Educational Studies, University of Oxford.

Teachers and Schools: England

School: Essex County Primary Infant School, London.
Headteacher: Miss T. M. McLean.
Teacher: Mrs. Brady

School: Norman First School, Norwich, Norfolk.
Headmistress: Mrs. Ethel Seaman.
Teacher: Mrs. Joy Raban

School: Chase Lane Primary School, Chase Lane Dover Court, Harwich, Essex.
Headmaster: Mr. David Brown
Deputy: Miss June Lee
Teacher: Mrs. Barbara Wilding
Mrs. Jean Ruddock

School: Landsdowne C. Primary School, Tilbury, Essex.
Headmaster: Mr. Ron E. Letheren
Teacher: Mr. David V. Roberts

School: Raynehurst County Primary Junior School, Gravesend, Kent.
Headmistress: Mrs. V. B. Dacey
Teacher: Mrs. Mary Gibbs

School: College of St. Matthias Infants School, Bristol.
Headmistress: Mrs. Marjorie Hughes
Deputy: Miss Pam Lyth

School: Sea Mills Infants School, Bristol.
Headmistress: Miss Dorothy Nash

School: Redhill Middle School, Castleford, Yorkshire.
Headteacher: Mr. S. Clayton
Teacher: Bess Bullough

School: Redhill First School, Castleford, Yorkshire.
Headmistress: Mrs. Elsie Hartley
Teacher: Miss Jeanne Brumwell

School: Neithrop Infants' School, Banbury, Oxon.
Headmistress: Mrs. Betty Durrant
Teacher: Mrs. Julie Uremovich
Mrs. Hailary Crosby

School: Monument Hill C. Primary School, Woking, Surrey.
Headmaster: Mr. Mike Hyatt
Teacher: Mrs. Marilyn Hart

School: Brixington County Primary School, Exmouth, Devon.
Headteacher: Miss V. Jay
Teacher: Miss S. F. Vanryne

School: St. Andrew's School, Cullampton, Devon.
Headmaster: Mr. D. J. Allen
Teacher: Mrs. Merle Schouten

School: Willand County Primary School.
Headmaster: Mr. Wilf Saunders
Teacher: Mr. Lewis Wilson

School: Caldecott First School, Abingdon, Berkshire.
Headmistress: Mrs. Sylvia P. Westerman
Teacher: Mrs. Jean Clark
Mrs. Doris Cockerill
Mrs. Dorothy Margaret Field
Mrs. Sylvia Dell

School: Thorpe Willoughby J. I. School, Thorpe Willoughby Nr. Selby, Yorkshire.
Headteacher: Miss Sheila Mackie
Teacher: Mr. Colin Shackleton

School: Cholsey County Infant School, Cholsey Nr. Wallingford, Berkshire.
Headmistress: Mrs. Eunice Foster
Mrs. Patricia Raper

School: Bladon County Primary School, Bladon, Oxon.
Headmaster: Mr. James Wratten
Teacher: Mrs. Gwen Wratten

School: Heartsease Middle School, Norwich, Norfolk.
Headmaster: Mr. George Wheeler
Teacher: Mr. Terry Phillips
Mr. Derek Ward

School: East Wickham County Primary School, Welling, Kent.
Headmaster: Mr. Doug Champ

School: St. James C. of E. Junior Mixed School, London Borough of Newham, London.
Headmistress: Miss J. Ford
Teacher: Mr. Bunch

Consultants:

Prof. J. N. Britton, Goldsmith's Professor of Education in the University of London.
Sir Alan Bullock, Vice-Chancellor, Oxford University Master, St. Catherine's College.
Sir Alec Clegg, Education Officer, West Riding County Council, Wakefield, Yorkshire.
Mr. John Coe, Senior Adviser, Primary Schools, Oxfordshire.
Mr. W. Patrick Creber, Department of Education, University of Exeter.
Mr. Sefton Davies, College of St. Matthias, Bristol.
Mr. John Dixon, Bretton Hall, College of Education, West Bretton, Wakefield, Yorkshire.
Miss Dorothy Duncan, Goldsmith's College, University of London.
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Mr. Leslie Stratta, School of Education, The University of Birmingham.
Mr. Geoffrey Summerfield, University of York.
Dr. Y. Joan Tough, Institute of Education, The University of Leeds.
Mr. Gordon Wells, Research Unit, School of Education, University of Bristol.
Mr. Roy Zemla, H.M.I., London Borough of Newham.

Teachers and Schools: West Germany

School: SchinkelGrundschule, Charlottenburg, West Berlin.
Schulleiter (Principal) Rudolf Thiel
School Psychologist: Joachim Kamratowski
Teacher: Fr. Inge Maroldt
Fr. Gisela Gensch

School: SiegerlandSchule, Spandau, West Berlin.
Schulleiter: Fr. Gundel Kähler
Teacher: Fr. Bärbel Krüger
Fr. Karin Sage

School: St. Georg Gymnasium, Hamburg.
Schulleiter: Uwe Thomson
Teacher: Ernst Huth
Joachim Paschen

School: BramfelderSchule, Hamburg.
Schulleiter: Walter Steckel
Teacher: Fr. Helga Gripp
Fr. Heidi Schroeder-Lanz
Heinz-Jürgen Krüger
Karin Zenker

School: HelmholtzSchule (Gymnasium), Frankfurt/M.
Schulleiter: Dr. Thiel
Teacher: Klaus Füller
Marianne Geib
Otto Meyer
Karmelia von Plottnitz

School: Ernst-ReuterSchule, Frankfurt/M.
Teachers: Fr. Ingrid Müller
Fr. Barbara Könnecke

School: Anne FrankSchule, Mainz.
Teacher: Fr. Eva Maria Rehm
Wolfgang Jäger

School: Frauenlob Gymnasium, Mainz.
Teacher: Fr. Koch
Fr. Joisten
Fr. Kaiser

School: Ludwig SchwambSchule, Mainz.
Teacher: Rita Herych
Maria Feuerbach

School: Carl ZuckmayerSchule, Mainz.
Schulleiter: Herr Lommel
Teacher: Fr. Waltraud Aufhammar
Fr. Heidrun Erdman
Dr. Mechthild Mazurowicz

Consultants:

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Dr. Albert Heller, Stuttgart.
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Dr. Gerhard Müller, Principal Gesankschule Kamen.
Fr. Ingrid Müller, Ernst-ReuterSchule, Frankfurt/M.
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Dr. Wilhelm Reuter, Oberschulrat, Hamburg.
Prof. Saul B. Robinsohn (deceased) former Director in the Max-Planck-Institut for Educational Research, West Berlin.
Prof. Dr. Walter Schultze, West German Institut for Research in International Education, Frankfurt/M.
Dr. Kurt Spangenberg, Paedagogisches Zentrum, West Berlin.
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International Consultants:

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Gunnar Hanson, Göteborg University.
Ron LaConte, University of Connecticut.

Professor Robert E. Shafer
Department of English
Arizona State University
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Professor Susanne M. Shafer
College of Education
Arizona State University
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Interviews with Teachers

1. What to you consider to be the most important reasons for the development of language power?

2. What have you observed in your pupils about the development of their language power?

3. What do you consider to be the most important classroom activities to develop language power?

4. From your observations, what relationship seems to exist between the development of oral language ability and reading and writing?

5. What teaching materials do you consider most effective in the development of language power?

6. How do you evaluate progress?

7. What did you learn about developing children's language in your initial preparation to teach or subsequently? To what extent have you been able to use effectively in the classroom what you did learn?

Professor Dr. Robert E. Shafer
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Interviews mit Klassenlehrern

1. Warum soll die Sprachfähigkeit der Schüler gefördert werden?

2. Welche Beobachtungen haben Sie hinsichtlich der Sprachfähigkeit der Schüler gemacht?

3. Durch welche Methode wird im Deutschunterricht die Sprachfähigkeit der Schüler am besten gefördert?

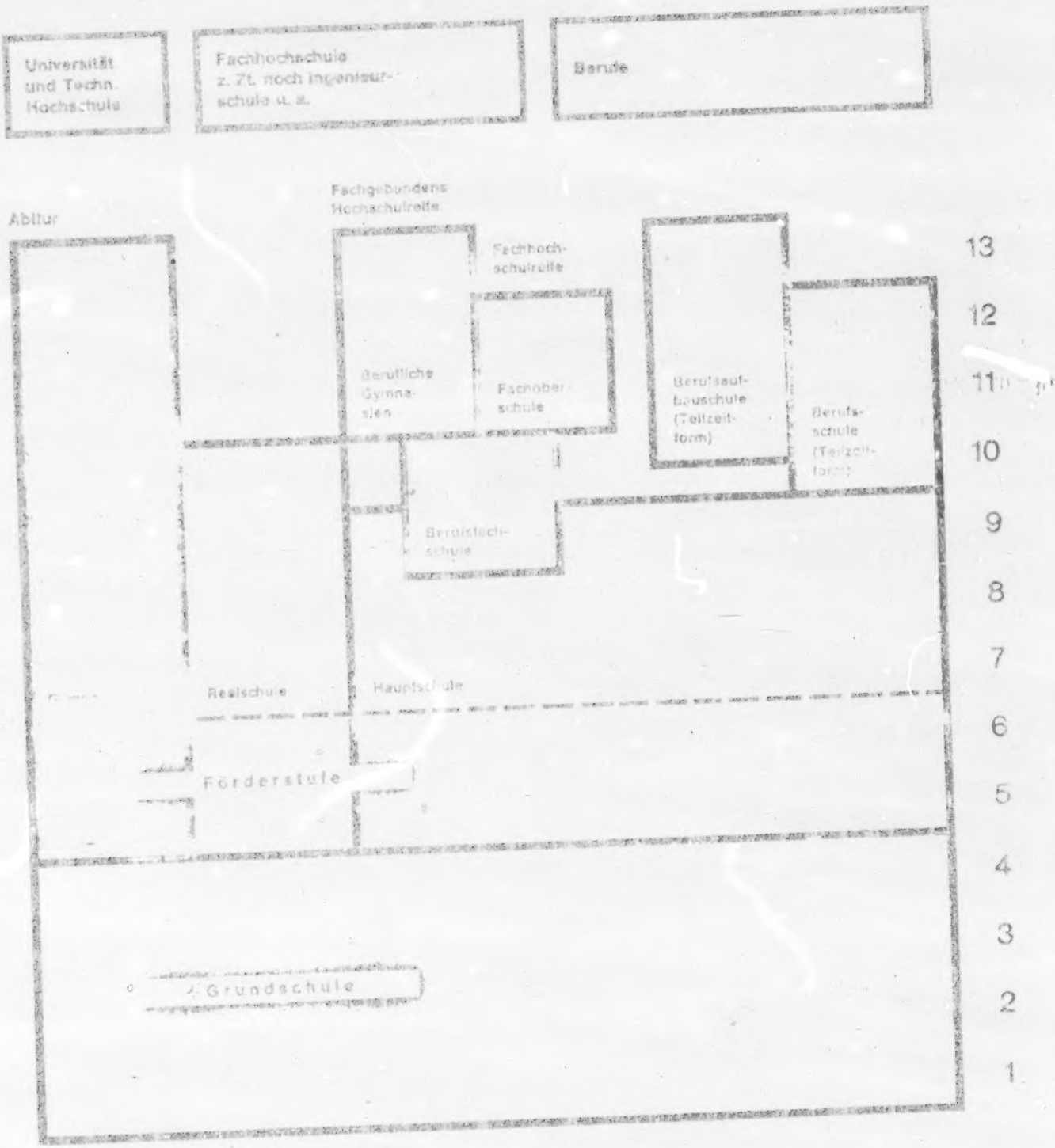
4. Welche Zusammenhänge bestehen zwischen der Entwicklung der Sprachfähigkeit und dem Lesen und Schreiben?

5. Welche Lehr- und Lernmittel fördern die Sprachfähigkeit am besten?

6. Wie beurteilen Sie die Fortschritte der Sprachfähigkeit Ihrer Schüler?

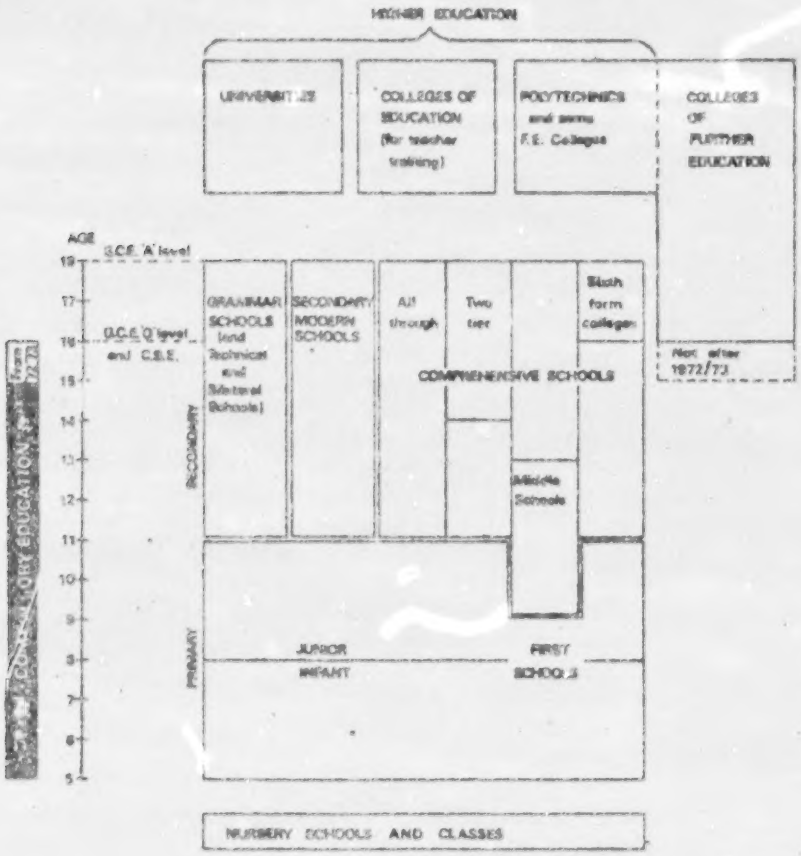
7. Inwieweit konnten die in Ihrer Lehrerausbildung erworbenen Kenntnisse hinsichtlich der Entwicklung und Förderung der Sprachfähigkeit in Ihrer Praxis wicksam angewendet werden?

Schule heute



Educational provision in England and Wales

This diagram shows the main elements in the provision of maintained schools and of higher education in England and Wales.



Note. Secondary modern schools provide a general education up to the minimum school leaving age, though pupils can stay on beyond that age.

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Appendix B

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Interviews with Teachers

1. What to you consider to be the most important reasons for the development of language power?

2. What have you observed in your pupils about the development of their language power?

3. What do you consider to be the most important classroom activities to develop language power?

4. From your observations, what relationship seems to exist between the development of oral language ability and reading and writing?

5. What teaching materials do you consider most effective in the development of language power?

6. How do you evaluate progress?

7. What did you learn about developing children's language in your initial preparation to teach or subsequently? To what extent have you been able to use effectively in the classroom what you did learn?

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Interviews mit Klassenlehrern

1. Warum soll die Sprachfähigkeit der Schüler gefördert werden?

2. Welche Beobachtungen haben Sie hinsichtlich der Sprachfähigkeit der Schüler gemacht?

3. Durch welche Methode wird im Deutschunterricht die Sprachfähigkeit der Schüler am besten gefördert?

4. Welche Zusammenhänge bestehen zwischen der Entwicklung der Sprachfähigkeit und dem Lesen und Schreiben?

5. Welche Lehr- und Lernmittel fördern die Sprachfähigkeit am besten?

6. Wie beurteilen Sie die Fortschritte der Sprachfähigkeit Ihrer Schüler?

7. Inwieweit konnten die in Ihrer Lehrerausbildung erworbenen Kenntnisse hinsichtlich der Entwicklung und Förderung der Sprachfähigkeit in Ihrer Praxis wirksam angewendet werden?